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RECENT SPEECHES OF Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.

At the Twentieth Annual Dinner given by the Montauk Club, of Brooklyn, in celebration of Senator Depew's Seventy-Seventh Birthday, April 29, 1911.

At the Annual Dinner of the University Club, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1911.

At the Dinner given to Senator Depew by the Republican Club of the City of New York, April 7, 1911.

At the Dinner given to Ex-Presidents of the Union League Club of the City of New York, April 8, 1911.

At the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society of New York to Mr. John Hays Hammond, Special Ambassador to the Coronation of King George V, at Plaza Hotel, May 24, 1911.

At a Masonic Celebration at the Manhattan Opera House, New York, April 13, 1911.

At the Luncheon of the Society of Cincinnati and their guests from other State Societies, Metropolitan Club, New York, May 10, 1911.

Article by Mr. Arthur Wallace Dunn, of Washington, D. C., on Mr. Depew's Retirement from the Senate.



Chauncey M. Depew.

Compliments of
Chauncey M. Depew.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Twentieth Annual Dinner given by the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn in Celebration of his
Seventy-Seventh Birthday, on April 29, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is very interesting that the twentieth successive dinner which you have given me on my birthday should coincide with this club coming of age. Twenty-one years of club life to those who have been members from the beginning is always full of charm. The club is the nearest association to the family possible without domestic ties. A man who has a sympathetic disposition and loves to mingle with his fellowmen upon a basis more intimate than is afforded in business will have among the living, and, in memory, those who have passed away, an invaluable asset of choicest friendships. In no place as in the club does human nature reveal itself at its best and at its worst. Members become natural with each other and their selfishness or their good fellowship increases with the years.

I recall those who were present at that first birthday celebration, and each one of them since has had distinctive features. It has differed from all other affairs of the kind because of its publicity and its freedom of discussion. The influence of words uttered here or revelations made here have at times reached far beyond the limits of this city. But these celebrations have also had every characteristic of the family birthday when the recipient is made happy because all present rejoice in the anniversary, hope for its indefinite recurrence and each of them can feel and sing "He is a jolly good fellow, which nobody will deny."

One of the most interesting of these anniversaries was given me the year I entered the Senate, and now we are here the year that I retire. Twelve years in that great deliberative body is wonderfully educational as well as enjoyable. It has often been called a club and said to be the best in the United

Senator Depew's birthday is April 23rd, but, owing to local conditions, the celebration of the event this year was the 29th.

States. In a sense, it is. Within its walls, except in debate upon political questions, there are no divisions of parties. Republicans and Democrats, Stand-patters and Progressives, mingle on the floor, in committee rooms, in the cloak room and the dining room, with a daily familiarity which speedily removes the rough edges from the most acidulous, irritable and irritating of Senators. In the course of years, with hardly an exception, they all become cordial friends, with the heartiest good wishes for long continuance in the Senate. There is a great difference in the jubilant expectations with which one enters upon a new field of work and the calm and reminiscent mood with which he returns to private life. The principal difference which I find now is that while I was in I was in receipt on the average of one hundred and fifty letters a day, one hundred of them wanting things, most of which it was impossible for me to procure, and the other fifty abusing me because I failed to land the writer in a diplomatic or a consular position, in a high place in the departments, or upon the permanent pension roll either as a beginner or with an increase. As an out, my mail dwindles to twenty letters a day, most of them giving advice. Some say, "You are seventy-seven years of age, remarkably well preserved, and yet you cannot hope to reach one hundred unless you quit dining and eating." Others say, "Chew until the last morsel has disappeared before you swallow." Others say, "You must stop drinking." Others prescribe the limits of exercise and the kinds of health foods. Others tell me that the judgment of a man past seventy is never good as to investments, that radical legislation is to impair the income of railway securities, and, bad management, of industries, but that he has a mine to develop or a fertilizer to put upon the market and with a little money the returns will mean luxury for life.

I was elected a Member of the Legislature in 1861. 1911 rounds out fifty years in intimate contact with public life or in the public service. The thought which most impresses itself upon me is that the functions of government, the rights of the citizen, the influence of laws upon the people have entirely changed during that period; I think, emphatically for the better. The iconoclast has been abroad and shattered the

most cherished images of the Fathers. If one of the framers of the Constitution could be reincarnated and visit us today, he would find the same great instrument almost unchanged, still the fundamental law of the land, but he would discover that legislation forced by the growth of the country, the rapid development of its resources, the influences of steam and electricity, had compelled the enactment of restrictive laws which he would regard as tyrannical restrictions upon individual liberty, and that those laws had been sustained as Constitutional by the interpretations of the Supreme Court. He would discover that these interpretations had so treated the general principles of his Constitution as to make them applicable and serviceable for a progress so radical as to seem to him revolutionary. Jefferson pinned his faith on the individual. He emphatically declared, "That government is best which governs least." His idea was to give the freest reign to individual initiative, effort and achievement. It was this which made him opposed to slavery and anxious for its abolition. The ideas of Jefferson controlled the legislation of the Republic down to the Civil War. The first break in the traditional sentiments and principles which had so long governed us was when the Supreme Court found warrant in the Constitution to raise armies to coerce sovereign States and compel them to remain within the Union; not only to raise armies, but to incur gigantic debts and expand the revenue in every possible direction to establish the fact that the Union of the States is indestructible and eternal.

After the Civil War and the elimination of slave labor, the United States entered upon a new industrial era. Railroads spanned the continent, and in doing so created farms, villages, cities and new States. There were in 1861 about thirty-five thousand miles of railway in the United States, and in 1911 the mileage has increased to two hundred and thirty-six thousand, which is one-half the railway mileage of the world. The necessity of great aggregations of capital to construct these iron highways, to promote manufactures, to develop the resources of the country and its mines, its forests and its fields, rapidly created corporations. The old Jefferson ideas gave to capital, whether possessed by

an individual or a partnership or a corporation, the freest rein. The people were eager for the development of the national wealth. Their imaginations were fired with the opportunities it gave to their children for success beyond the dreams of the present generation and for the permanent and healthful employment of everybody. After a while it was found that if the corporation was not regulated by law, and did not have upon it the restraining power of the government, and was not compelled to have its operations exposed to the light of publicity, that the public, the corporations and their investors were subject to great evils and perils. Then began legislation upon the collective instead of the individual principle. The railroads, with the absolute freedom which was thought necessary for their primitive expansion, engaged in ruinous competition with each other which impaired the efficiency of the service and the strength of the companies. Discriminations by rebates and other devices for favored cities, towns or individuals became common. Business dried up along the weaker lines under the original false idea that the proper way to secure justice from the railroad was to promote competition by law. Then rapidly came State and National commissions. Then came prohibitions against rebates, discriminations and favoritism, and then was developed what is nearly completed—that ideal of corporate management, the controlling power of the government to prevent abuses and also to protect the corporations in their rights, the expansion, extension, improvement and increasing efficiency of private ownership as against the waste and profligacy of ownership by the government. Now, here we have what might be called collective action reversing our time-honored rules and principles and yet working beneficially for protecting without restricting enterprise and progress. To accomplish these results larger powers have been given to the Interstate Commerce Commission and a Court of Commerce created with adequate jurisdiction. Soon it was found necessary that the old idea which had governed us for eighty years should be reversed as to all corporations. The legislation along this line reached so many in every settlement of the country that it raised a wild cry of alarm. It was shouted that private business was to be

destroyed and fatal restrictions placed upon national development. The selfishness which to save expense made factories unsanitary and unsafe was practised as much by individuals as by corporations. The employment of children and the destruction of child life in order to make more money was found to be as much the vice of individuals as of corporations. So the law stepped in and swept away the whole theory of individualism and proceeded drastically to protect by law, by inspection and by government supervision the lives and the health of the people in the factories and to protect the children. We have not gone quite far enough. That frightful holocaust of the factory fire in New York a few days since shows that these laws must be more drastic, supervision more perfect and punishment more severe.

These instances which I have cited, and they could be continued almost indefinitely, demonstrate the complete change in our government in these fifty years of my public life, but no sane men will question that the change has been most beneficial and absolutely necessary. We as a people go to extremes. Having advanced thus far, our danger is that the unthinking may go on from protection to restrictions so severe as to endanger progress and enterprise. Corporate development during this period is not confined to the United States, but has been equally rapid in all countries. With the cable and cheap and rapid transportation over the seas the surplus savings of each country are at the service of all nations. The fluidity of capital makes Kings and Parliaments and Presidents and Congresses boards of directors of those huge competitive business organizations their several nations, upon whose success depends the living of their peoples and the extent to which prosperous conditions may ward off penury and starvation and promote prosperity. The great industrial nations, like Great Britain and Germany, encourage great combinations. They do it to increase the efficiency and cheapness of their productions, because their increasing populations and surplus threaten dangerous congestion and are a menace to the stability of their institutions and the peace and order of their communities. Their object is to capture for the sale of their surplus the markets of the world. They further help their own

industries by encouraging and creating a mercantile marine which will sail upon every sea and reach every port by subsidies sufficiently large and liberal to accomplish this result. The United States has taken an opposite course. We have persistently refused encouragement to the upbuilding of a mercantile marine. When Secretary of State Root made his famous visit to the South American Republics, he found in the crowded shipping of their ports but one vessel flying the American flag and our battleship fleet in its cruise around the world saw the ensign of their country only on their own masts. The thousands of steamers in the ports of these countries were English, German, French, Belgian, Italian, Austrian, Swedish and Norwegian, some carrying American products, but all agents for the manufacturers and business men of their own countries. The country became so alarmed at the rapidity with which industrial combinations were formed that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed twenty years ago. It fairly expressed the idea of that period which was that the common law which had proved ample for the restraint of bad combinations for three hundred years was not sufficient to meet these new conditions, but that all industrial combinations, good or bad, should be prohibited and as far as possible we should become as a people retailers rather than wholesalers in the exploitation, perfecting and marketing of our products. Capital seeking opportunities for investment, labor with unions strong enough to protect itself demanding opportunities for employment and increasing wages, and communities striving against each other for immigration and the rapid development of their local resources, were all carried along by the resistless power of the tendency of the times to get around or to overcome the effects of this law. Several States which have quickly grasped both the opportunity and the necessity have endeavored to overcome the restrictive and repressive influence of the law by the exercise of their sovereign power, while others have supplemented by more drastic acts the Sherman Law. The States which have taken the independent course have attracted immigration and capital and increased their population in the last decade as well as expanded their industries, while the commonwealths which have pursued the other course have

decreased in population because their young men could find no employment, and, therefore, were compelled to migrate either to Canada for cheap farms or to the industrial States for their opportunities. But these progressive commonwealths are finding their legislation up against the power of the government when their products go beyond their borders in interstate commerce. A large measure of the unrest, the lack of employment, the halting of business, and the depreciation of securities, are due to the uncertainties of this situation. The need of the hour is constructive statesmanship which will provide by national incorporations opportunity for the free play of capital, the largest possible employment of labor and the protection of the public under a supervision by a bureau of the general government, which, while preventing abuses, will permit progress. President Roosevelt made an admirable move in this direction by his congress of Governors, the idea being that through them there might be uniform laws throughout the country. It is an almost insuperable barrier to our proper and wise development as a nation that what is lawful and encouraged in one commonwealth should be penalized in another, that the family, that sacred relation upon which everything else rests, should under diverse divorce laws be in danger of disruption and destruction because a couple may be husband and wife in one jurisdiction but the wife a mistress and the children illegitimate in another.

One of the causes of unrest which is so universal is the high cost of living. Due in a measure to this is the initiative, the referendum and the recall, and many other devices to destroy representative government. I met in my experience a concrete illustration which seemed to prove that the main trouble is not so much the high cost of living as the cost of high living. When I was a boy, sixty odd years ago, I knew a successful village storekeeper who opened the store himself at seven o'clock in the morning and closed it at night. He had one assistant of all work, and he helped in building the fire, for there were no furnaces in those days, in filling and trimming the lamps, for there was no electric light or gas, and a single horse, which he groomed himself, hauled the delivery wagon and took his family out in the rockaway for a ride

on Sunday afternoons. He was contented, happy and prosperous. I stopped in to see his son not long ago. He had furnace heat, electric lights, clerks who relieved him of much of the work of his father, an automobile at the door, a telephone on his desk and a typewriter on his lap, and complained of the high cost of living.

One of the most extraordinary of the changes in the period we are discussing is our attitude toward the negro. I speak of this because of close contact with the question during discussions in the Senate on the amendment to the Constitution to change the method of electing United States Senators from the Legislature to the people. I there found that the sentiment which so overwhelmingly placed in the Constitution the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments for the protection of the negro had decreased to an almost utter indifference to his civil and political rights. The theory under which we permit immigrants of every grade of intelligence to become citizens after a certain probation is that under our common school system, our free education and the influence of our institutions they will be worthy of that high privilege. The results have justified the theory. We do this also in the belief that it is dangerous to have in our midst a large and increasing body of aliens who neither enjoy nor can be permitted to enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Many States in which there is a large negro population have by various devices deprived them of the suffrage. Of course this is in violation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. These States greatly fear that some time the question may reach the Supreme Court of the United States in such a way that the court may decide against this legislation. So when the resolution was offered during the last Congress to change the Constitution by simply saying that hereafter United States Senators should be elected by the people instead of by the Legislatures, these States which deny the negroes the right to vote made the demand that they would not support the proposition unless the provision of the Constitution which has been there for one hundred and twenty-five years giving the United States supervisory power over the elections should be repealed. A few days ago this

question came up in the House of Representatives. The resolution amending the Constitution was reported from the committee with this repeal of governmental supervision, and in that form it passed the House by the affirmative vote of three-fourths of its members. The resolution as it passed the House not only changes the method of electing United States Senators, but leaves the qualifications of the electors who shall vote for them entirely in the discretion of the State Legislatures, which means that no negro will ever be permitted to vote in a great many States for a United States Senator, and means that the restrictive laws have this buttress for their perpetuity if the question comes before the Supreme Court. Suppose this action had been taken, I will not say immediately after the Civil War, with its heat and passion, but thirty years ago. There would have come through Henry Ward Beecher from Plymouth pulpit, Dr. Storrs from the Puritan Church, and Theodore Parker from the Temple in Boston, an appeal which would have aroused the whole country. Every pulpit in the Northern States would have rung with denunciations of this bargain and surrender. All the great newspapers would have joined and mass meetings everywhere would have voiced the public indignation, but with the exception of a criticism from a few newspapers there is apparently no feeling left on the subject in the country.

Encouraged by this vote, the day after the repeal of this century and a quarter old protection for the Government and Congress was so overwhelmingly passed as a triumphant rider on the proposition for the election of Senators by the people, a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives to repeal the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

This half century is a wonderful inspiration for optimism. Let the American boys and girls who have become familiar with the rise and fall of empires, and with the startling revolutions in Europe during those fifty years, study the story of their own country from 1861 to 1911. It has no equal in all that tends to liberty, progress, intelligence and the influences which make life worth the living. There are some discoveries which are disquieting, but at the same time they have their compensations in health and

the prolongation of life. Fifty years ago we had not discovered microbes or bacteria. We were peacefully ignorant of the battles which are constantly raging in our blood between the good and the bad microbes. Myriads of people died with peritonitis, not knowing that to cut out the appendix ended the trouble. Patent medicines, compounded mainly of whiskey, opium or cocaine, were the greatest aids to the doctors and the undertakers. While the Pure Food Law compels the makers of these stuffs to put their formula on the bottle is declared to be an invasion of individual liberty, it has saved millions of lives.

My breakfast for years has been one boiled egg. I found recently when I took it out of the shell that it was as lively as soda water when the bottle is first opened. It had fermented. I felt as did Horace Greeley, who, at a formal dinner, was so absorbed in his talk that, not noting what he was eating, he got a mouthful of the sorbet which was concocted of Jamaica rum. Angry and spluttering, he turned savagely to his hostess and shouted, "Madam, I never drink intoxicating liquors, and you know it, but if I did I don't want my rum frozen." I said to my dealer, "An egg fortifies me for the day, but I don't want soda water eggs, for which I am paying you sixty cents a dozen." "Well," said the eggman, "those are case eggs, but I will send you fresher eggs for seventy cents a dozen." Case eggs were cold storage eggs and the best of that class. Nearly fifty millions of the worst, which had become filthy poisons, were destroyed by the food inspectors this year. Yet the cold storage men say, "This is an interference with individual liberty." But that law should be strengthened. The farmer received for those seventy cent eggs only twenty cents a dozen; fifty cents went to the middlemen. If the farmers would form a co-operative trust they could divide that fifty cents with the consumers, and thus increase their profits and reduce the cost of living.

As industrial occupations have become hazardous we are progressing upon lines of legislation for the mass as against the individual by making the individual responsible for death or for damages incurred in these employments. We have even within the last four years had legislation which makes the

government as an employer responsible in compensatory damages for injuries to its employees. If I may mention myself in a birthday speech, that is one of my legislative monuments. People think right when they are informed. No demagogue long survives when the district school year has been extended from ninety days to nine months in his community. Just now many are rising to notice or distinction by denouncing the "Interests." The "Interests" has become almost as effective a cry for political purposes as was at one time the railroads and at another time corporations. When an analysis is made of what the orator is trying to accomplish in this vague denunciation of the "Interests" it will be found that it is an appeal to that universal unrest, strong in every one of us, against the fellow who is a little better off than ourselves.

A statesman in the Legislature at Albany the other day after the Assembly had cordially received me disturbed the harmony by saying that I did not represent the common people. It was a delightful occasion. This did not occur until after I left, but there is nothing perfect in this world. There is always a flaw in the emerald or a fly in the amber. But yet this statement may mar his own political future by talking about the common people. In our country, where all are equal before the law, where there are no classes, no privileges, where ninety-nine out of every hundred of the heads of our railroads, our banks, our insurance companies, our business enterprises, our statesmen, started as poor boys, there are no common people. Even Lincoln never used that word, and if any man was a tribune of the people he in all our history is their leader. I heard General Spinola tell a story of how he ruined his chances once for the Assembly by saying in a speech in the Sixth Ward that he was glad to get down to that locality. An indignant citizen sprang to his feet and yelled, "Low-cality is it? We'll show you we are high-cality," and only the policeman saved him from the mob. Everybody ought to think for himself, but it is not easy to think right. I remember a Senator making a speech upon a question where his State was divided and the canvass for his re-election was on. As he balanced the pros and cons until it became a fair wager how long he would stay on the fence and on which side he would land, a witty colleague

remarked, "That speech reminds me of a farmer who took his clock to the maker and said, 'I wish you would mend this clock. I do not know what is the matter with it, because when it strikes four and the hands point to twelve I know it is half past one.' "

Of the seventy-seven class is Doctor Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard. He celebrated his birthday during this month. I read on Sunday his interview in which he gives with that wonderful precision and lucidity which has always characterized him the rules which make him vigorous at seventy-seven and hopeful for the future. Cheerfulness and temperance run through his inspiring talk. I think I can agree with him when he says, "Go to church. Keep a clean heart and a good conscience. Give your mind exercise as well as your body—really think. Exercise regularly. Eat in moderation. Take a full allowance of sleep. Avoid indulgence in luxury and the habitual use of any drug, not only of alcohol but of tobacco, tea and coffee." If I do not go to church on Sunday, I am uncomfortable the whole week, and always inspired by the services and the sermon. Eating in moderation I have preached at all these dinners, but I never have had time for regular exercises. Sleep is the absolute necessity for health and longevity. It was said of Napoleon that he required only four hours, but one of the innumerable biographies from those who were on his staff says that he often slept in his saddle. A man at seventy-seven should not attempt things which would be easy at forty no matter how vigorous he may feel. Matthew Arnold died because at sixty-five he took a flying leap over a high fence to shame the boys.

The most difficult advice to follow given by Doctor Eliot is to really think. Most people exercise their minds along the lines of their business or profession, but on general subjects let the newspapers do the thinking for them. This become a habit from which it is almost impossible to break away and real thinking becomes too hard a task. A farmer on the western reserve of Ohio, sitting with a troubled look on his face, was asked by a traveler what was the matter. He said, "My Democratic neighbor got the better of me in an argument last

night, but wait until the weekly Tribune comes with old Greeley's editorial and then I will smash him to bits."

Passing through Albany at one time I learned that the Governor of our State, a very successful man, and whom I highly valued as a friend, was ill. I stopped over a train and went up to see him. I found him in dressing-gown and slippers, surrounded by the hundreds of bills which had been left on his hands by the Legislature and which were to be signed or sent unsigned to the Secretary of State's office before the constitutional limit of days allowed him had expired. He said, "Chauncey, here are questions of sociology, of municipal government, of the regulation of charities, of reformatories, of conservation and a hundred other things, to which I have never given attention. You make so many speeches on so many questions that you must do a great deal of thinking. I wonder if it affects you as it does me?" "Well," I said, "Governor, how does it affect you?" He said, "The same as a rough sea, and I am a mighty poor sailor."

I was talking the other day with a farmer, an old friend, and he revealed to me a brand new way of getting around these most necessary laws against watering milk, short measure in the basket and the barrel and short weight on the scales, legislation against which is all of this period that I have been discussing. He said, "I let my cows in warm weather stand during the middle of the day in water. I find that by the processes of absorption they give twenty per cent more milk." Of course this method of watering milk is beyond the reach of the law or the inspector.

My friend Choate has said in one of his happy speeches that from seventy to eighty are the best days in a long life. Having already passed the majority of these years, I am in full accord with my friend. Gladstone said that the best and happiest period of his life was after sixty, but he was in the eighties when he swept the country by a marvelous personal canvass and carried his Irish Home Rule Bill, and at eighty-five he wrote to that most delightful of English social leaders, Lady Dorothy Nevill, "The year hand of the clock of time has marked eighty-five and has nearly run its course. I have much cause to be thankful, still more to be prospective." It

was my privilege to meet Lady Dorothy very often years ago, and so I read with the greatest interest her reminiscences which have recently been published. In them Lady Dorothy tells this charming story about an aunt who, she says, was the homeliest woman in Great Britain, so homely that she passed forty without ever receiving an offer. Wolfe, the explorer, was the lion of the London season and sat beside her at dinner. She became so excited with his adventures among the lions and elephants that she dropped her fork. The explorer unhesitatingly plunged under the table to find it in a more adventurous journey than he had ever had in Central Africa. When he discovered it he pinched her foot. It was the only attention she had ever received and she fell madly in love with him. Soon after they were married. This reminds me that in reading the life of Samuel Rogers, the poet banker, his biography says that while his faculties were not impaired otherwise his memory was completely gone after ninety. An effort which was made by a scientist to rouse that faculty when Rogers was ninety-two resulted only in his recalling the name of the girl who had rejected his offer of marriage when he was a young man. The story of the pinch of the foot and its result and of this only recollection of the nonagenarian poet indicates what lives when everything else has died.

I frequently meet with men past sixty who complain that their friends and companions are dead and they are unable to find new ones to take their places. So they say life is very dull and uninteresting. These unfortunate people have not found the true secret of happiness at any age. It is to be part of each generation, to be a participant in its work and in its play, to appreciate its fun and not laugh at its follies, to be an elder brother in your church associations, in your political organizations, in your club life, in your fraternity, so alert and valuable in your activities that you are welcomed by the youngest and the experience of venerable years gives a value to your advice which commands the attention of all. This appreciation and applause is the most healthful of tonics and one of the best aids to vigorous longevity.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Annual Dinner of the University Club,
Washington, Monday, February 27, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: As a university man, to-night seems to me something like the gala day in the Coliseum at Rome. If you can imagine this room to be the Coliseum, and the President of the United States as the Emperor in his box, then Carter and I, and other Senators and Members of Congress, who are in the same situation, pass before him like the gladiators of old saluting with the cry, "Nos morituri te salutamus"—"We who are about to die salute you." I only turn the Latin into English because most of you have been out of college more than ten years.

Senator Carter and I are among the number of the elect and the saints for whom this is the last week on the political planet. On Saturday we expire. The catastrophe suggests both sorrow and hilarity—sorrow for what we lose and hilarity for what we escape. The angel of political death appears in the Senate in these days in sundry disguises. At one time he takes the form of the amendment to the Constitution for the direct election of Senators; at another the resolution relating to the seat of Mr. Lorimer; at another the Canadian reciprocity. He remarks on each of these propositions to those who are still in the ring, "Whichever way you vote you are mine." A committee of farmers representing the granges and agricultural societies of the State of New York called upon me and said, "If you vote for this Canadian treaty you need never expect any political favor which the united farmers of the State of New York can prevent your receiving, but if you vote against it you have our united support for the rest of your life." Then a representative of the newspaper publishers came in. He said, "If you don't vote for this treaty, by editorial denunciation, paragraphical sniping and repertorial misrepresentation, we will make your life a burden and retire you to permanent oblivion." "Well," I said, "suppose I do vote for it. What will you do then?" The representative said, "Then we will never mention you."

The Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives has a collection of poetry for the use of Members delivering memorial addresses on deceased Members. One used the other day, I fear, might represent the tears over retiring statesmen: "Here lies the body of my dear wife. My scalding tears cannot bring her to life. Therefore, I weep."

How happy was the condition of the representative of the people in the good old days. On the questions prevailing in that period there were no divisions within the party, no questions upon which the Senator or the Member could not follow the leader with safety and devotion, while in these days party lines are becoming so indistinct that the electorate which gives rousing majorities one year for one side gives equally rousing majorities the next year for the other side. But the university man has a satisfaction which cannot be enjoyed by any outside the order. Parties may come and parties may go; the political question of to-day may seem vital for the republic, and be forgotten to-morrow; but as time goes on and age mellows, aspiration and enthusiasm for other things fade and become nebulous, but the old campus, the old buildings, the old fence, the old professors, the old associations grow fresher, more beautiful, more satisfactory with the years.

We are happy in having with us here to-night one of the men who constitute that enormous aggregation of men called "New Yorkers." They come from every state in the Union to our city to take their chances where failure is hopeless but rewards are great. The one who succeeds in his profession, his business, his calling of any kind, in this great town, is pre-eminently the survival of the fittest and equivalent to a New Yorker by birth. So this young Texan, Martin Littleton, coming unknown and unheralded to the metropolis, speedily won a rare position in the forefront of a crowded profession, and then, turning to politics, reversed the time-honored majority in the district in which resides ex-President Roosevelt. And yet, before he has taken his seat in the Lower House, he confidently announces his candidacy for the Senate. We are students of the classics and we love those acts of heroism of the ancient times which have been the inspiration of all the ages. The three hundred at Thermopylæ, Curatius jumping into the pit to save his country, Horatius holding the bridge,

are familiar examples. So, when the Democratic Party, torn asunder by faction and threatened with annihilation by internal strife, seemed on the eve of destruction, Friend Littleton heroically and unselfishly sent word to the leaders in the Legislature at Albany, "I will make the sacrifice. Take me for Senator." Certainly I should feel highly honored to have my brilliant young friend as my successor.

An incident, both picturesque and interesting, which took place a few days ago in this Senatorial contest at Albany happily and favorably illustrates the honor of men in public life. Muckraking magazines, yellow journals and Chautauqua lecturers have been for years preaching to the people that the public life of the United States is the most decadent that exists anywhere in the world. They have succeeded in producing a widespread distrust of the representatives of the people, both in State Legislatures and in Congress. It is a distrust so deep-seated that I doubt if it is ever removed. Everyone who knows anything about progress in legislation knows the enormous improvement which has taken place both in the personnel of representatives and in the work which they have performed since the Civil War. The lobby which used to fill the halls of Congress has now practically disappeared. In the New York Legislature the Democrats have a large majority on joint ballot. They are responsible for the order of business. They placed upon the record a rule that no pairs should be recognized unless they were recorded with the clerk. It so happened that a week ago when the roll was called in the joint Assembly for the election of United States Senator it was discovered that there were so many Democratic absentees that the Republicans had a clean majority. The majority leader claimed that the absentees were paired individually and without his knowledge and asked that those pairs be recognized. He was informed that under his own rule, which had been adopted, those pairs were illegal. He admitted that they were illegal, but begged the minority to recognize the pairs, which were made individually without notice and in violation of the rule, as a gentleman's agreement. Here is an interesting question of ethics. If a legislator makes a private agreement to violate a standing rule of the legislative body to which he belongs and for which he voted, is that violation an agreement

of a gentleman? Though the minority had it absolutely in their power to elect a Senator and might have demanded that the game should be played according to the rules, they decided that, notwithstanding rules and orders, the gentleman's agreement should be recognized. I do not believe that business men, having the legal right, would have yielded under such conditions. I know that no lawyer responsible for the interests of his clients would have permitted his opponent to gain such an advantage. And I state this only to show that in public life and among public men there is the very highest and most sensitive honor. As I have been the candidate of the minority and receiving their united votes since the balloting began, I would have been the recipient of this remarkable happening, but I rejoice exceedingly that my friends did not take the advantage which was legally in their power. The people had elected a Legislature which was Democratic by a large majority, and they had the right to expect a Democratic Senator.

Washington has changed marvelously since I first came here twelve years ago. It is filling up with the palaces of the men who have made fortunes all over the world in ventures of vast magnitude. These palaces are going up in all the great cities of the country. Nine-tenths of their owners boast that they are self-made men and sneer at the products of the colleges and universities. In an active life of fifty-five years with opportunities to meet more people than almost any man alive, and know something of their careers, I have come to the conclusion that it is only the few who are exceptionally gifted who can excel those who have had the benefits of a liberal education. No one except those who have been privileged to enjoy them can appreciate the infinite pleasures there are in the advantages which the old institutions give. I remember one wonderful man whose learning was limited to the three R's, but who had a world-wide reputation for success, who would have given a large part of his vast fortune if he could have enjoyed a college training. But I knew another, and I can see his shiny, bald head now, who was always speaking contemptuously of the men of the schools. One day he said to an eminent professor of physiology, "What has all your education done for you, sir? See where I am and what I have, and I am a self-made man." "Well," said the professor,

"while you were making yourself why didn't you put some hair on your head?" I remember another who angered a famous painter with the same remark, and received this retort, "I wish you would let me paint on the top of your head the picture of a rabbit." "Why a rabbit," said the astonished millionaire. "Because," said the artist "somebody might mistake it for a hare."

Every American boy starts with a quick mind. Afterward it is a matter of development. I heard this story the last time I was in New Haven. When the British Ambassador was delivering his very able addresses to the university he had a discussion on the street one day with President Hadley as to the brightness of the street boy in London and America. President Hadley said, "Let's test it with this newsie." The President said, "Boy, can you tell us what time it is by your nose?" to which the boy answered, "My nose isn't running this morning."

Nothing impresses me more than the evolution of American democracy. We started with very little power in the executive and all power in Congress, when all the rest of the world were under autocratic governments of the kings, and we were afraid of the king. In the development of a century and a quarter all the rest of the world, especially England and France, have come to the absolute supremacy of the legislative branch and the retirement of the executive, while we have evolved the other way. So, at that early period our English and Scotch ancestors believed in three and four hour sermons in the pulpit and whole-night speeches in Parliament. Now, in the condensation on the other side the leading authorities of the Church of England propose to condense the Ten Commandments. They take the longest one which states what you shall not covet, and, eliminating everything else, leave only "Thou shalt not covet." If this rule could be applied to the United States Senate its business would be finished and its sessions ended in three months. As it is now, we have statesmen whose great ambition is to have their posterity point to the Congressional Record and say, "My father filled more pages of that wonderful publication than any man of his time." It would be an enormous benefit to many a man and a tremendous relief to the world if such a one was only gifted

with the feminine instinct of propriety, an instinct which never fails, which is always correct, though in the matter of personal adornment very expensive. In the recent excavations which have been made on the site of ancient Babylon they have come across, in the library of Nebuchadnezzar, where the books were stenciled on clay and baked, the Babylonian story of the Garden of Eden. And this publication proves, that when man and woman first appeared upon earth, she had this instinct of propriety for herself as well as for him. This story says that after the accident of the apple, when Eve retired and wove a dress for him and herself of the leaves in the Garden, that Adam put his around his neck and she exclaimed, "Great Heaven, Adam, that is not the place to wear it!"

It has been my privilege to serve under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. McKinley had spent twenty years in Congress and he looked to the Senators and Members exclusively for guidance, advice and help. Roosevelt had a genius for gauging the popular current beyond any of our public men. He had invisible wires which reached every part of the country and every department of industry, and through them he gathered, long in advance, the trend of public opinion, and then, with fife and drum, and cymbal and horn, became its leader and carried its purposes into effect. In these troublous times there is fluidity of parties, and more than ever before in the history of the country great corporations and great aggregations of wealth on the one side and agitation and unrest on the other, are creating most critical and dangerous situations. It is a period that calls for patience, for high courage, for judicial fairness and for those rare and indefinable qualities which command the confidence of the people. Nowhere in such a crisis could the combination of culture and experience be found equal to the task except in the product of our American universities. Happily for the country and happily for the people, one of the finest fruits of liberal culture, one of the best results of the college, a man who has carried the spirit of Alma Mater into every function of life and every office that he has held, is our President, William H. Taft.

WELCOMED HOME BY REPUBLICAN CLUB

Speech at the Dinner given to Senator Depew by
the Republican Club of the City of New York,
April 7, 1911.

MY FRIENDS: When a man enters upon a great office he has doubts; when he retires he still has doubts; but if his neighbors, among whom he has lived and who have known him always, gather to greet, to welcome, to honor and to congratulate, all doubts are removed. Any one properly constituted regards the consummation of a successful life to be happiness. Happiness is not an accident nor purely a question of temperament and environment, nor can it be secured by cultivation. It is a gift, both from within and without; from without, in unselfish friendship; from within, in appreciation and gratitude.

There is a vast difference between going out with your party or being beaten within your party. For a Republican to be stepped on by the elephant is death, but to be kicked by the Democratic donkey means only a period in the hospital.

The saying that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country" may have been true in earlier days, but is not applicable to our times.

Under our system of government, which, unlike the English, confines a representative to his home district or state, no one can secure and hold public office unless he is held in honor in his own country. If strong at home, if holding continuously the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, storms of detraction, or hatred, or enmity from other states, are powerless to disturb him.

I have just closed twelve years in the United States Senate, very eventful ones in legislation and very happy ones to me. When Tennyson sang "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" he did not possess American experience. In the fifty years since 1861 we have passed through a crisis involving the existence of the country or its whole future every decade. The civil war for the preservation of the Union,

reconstruction for the permanent peace and perpetuity of the Union, the defeat of fiat money, the resumption of specie payments, the silver craze, the establishment of the gold standard and the experiment with colonial government were all crises full of peril, full of history and of grave consequences to the republic. I have experienced all there was to feel by an active participation in each of those troublous periods.

It has been to me one supreme lesson in the absolute destructibility of our institutions and liberties. Every citizen passes through a period of seeing in the immediate future the destruction of his country. But while believing this prophecy, if you have seen several times the period set for the cataclysm pass by and nothing happen, predictions of evil cease to disturb your peace of mind. I have a letter of my great-grandfather's, written during Jefferson's administration. He was a judge and a Federalist. This letter to his son-in-law, a distinguished lawyer of the same faith, says: "With Jefferson as President, an infidel in religion and a French revolutionist in politics, I see, perhaps not in my time, but in yours, the end of religion and liberty in these United States." Several generations have come and gone since the old gentleman left to his children this grewsome legacy. Each generation has found the country enjoying larger liberties, greater power and prosperity and opportunities for all undreamed of by their predecessors.

There will be crises in the future, occurring probably every decade, perils from the clashing of labor and capital, perils from the growth of socialistic sentiment, perils of the dangers to all property in the effort to control great corporations and wealth without checking progress and employment, perils from the mob spirit and perils from autocracy.

England, handicapped, as we protectionists think, by free trade, is trying to keep as much as possible of her former position as the workshop of the world by encouraging industrial combinations. This is done to reduce the cost of production. The German states, as in the famous potash case, are themselves interested in various industries. They form close syndicates with their competitors in the same line of business to maintain prices at home and utilize their government-owned railroads and subsidized mercantile marine to so lower charges

for transportation as to command foreign markets. Our legislation forbids all combinations, the good as well as the bad, and our task, as we extend our commerce, is to adjust our conditions for competition with other nations.

We as yet have not fully grasped our position as a world power and the duties it imposes, nor have we arrived at a settled policy which is demanded by foreign governments under the responsibilities assumed in maintaining the Monroe doctrine. Judging the future by the past, the pendulum will probably swing our way until the common sense of the people checks its dangerous progress, and then politicians, with ears to the ground catching the changing sentiment, will eagerly lead in the opposite direction. So, if we who are here to-night are permitted to visit these scenes a hundred years from now, we will find conditions bettered, opportunities larger and greater marvels brought about by inventions, and the game of politics played possibly with the same cards and with similar results to those which have characterized our period. Between political crises and political stagnation, it is better for the public good that the storm should rage and some temporary damage be done, for a wreck here and there upon the shore is nothing to the life-giving gale which lashes the ocean into fury and sends the beneficent rainclouds over the earth and clarifies sea and air of impurities.

In rendering an account of stewardship a catalogue would be wearisome, but I rejoice in many things in which I was permitted to participate, and for which I had opportunity to render such assistance as was in my power. The carrying into effect of the gold standard and the establishment upon a firm basis of national and individual credit was one of the achievements of my period.

Before the conservation of natural resources had become a question of any importance, as chairman of the committee having charge of such matters in my earlier years, I became convinced of the necessity of turning the Appalachian range into a national forest. The eight states through which the range runs could do nothing individually. The cutting off of the trees led to the washing away of the undergrowth and humus which held the rainfall and distributed it beneficially through the valleys. The floods which followed the loss of the

forests destroyed annually twenty million acres of fertile land. The tragedy of the destruction of twenty million acres a year, with all their possibilities for settlement and happy homesteads, was beyond language to describe. I prepared a bill and passed it through the Senate. It took ten years of continuous effort to get it through the House of Representatives, but in this last session, including also the White Mountains, it became a law. The inclusion of the White Mountains was due to the efforts of Senator Brandegee of Connecticut.

Reform by legislation is always slow and tedious and requires continuous and persistent effort to succeed. The government had never yielded to a law which would make it liable to those engaged in its service in dangerous employments for similar compensation for death and injury to those which were universal in industrial pursuits. For years that bill had appeared and annually been buried. President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Taft placed it in my hands, and in the last hours of the closing session of the Sixty-first Congress I succeeded in passing it and sending it to the President. I am prouder of that than of many measures of country-wide interest in whose perfection I participated.

The Senate is a comparatively small body with a membership which runs for six years, and with re-election for another six. Associations and intimacies permit a member to secure for his state things of importance which a young member can never gain. I was assigned immediately upon entering to the great committee on commerce. This committee passes upon all measures relating to the rivers and harbors of the country and the improvements of the waterways. I became deeply impressed with the scheme which that eminent senator, Senator Frye, had prepared for Ambrose channel. I joined with Senator Frye to make this project a success. None of us dreamed at that time that mercantile marine engineering would produce leviathans of 50,000 tons, and yet with a foresight which was more of hope than of intelligence, we carried to perfection a channel into the docks of the port of New York of sufficient width and depth to accommodate and secure for our harbor those marvelous carriers of the sea.

The barge canal comes to the Hudson River twelve miles above the improvement which permits the floating of its larger

craft. Last year near the close of the session the engineers and a citizens' committee came to me with the statement that unless the government at an expense of between six and seven millions of dollars improved that twelve miles the barge canal was a failure—it ended nowhere.

Senators are clamoring for appropriations for every river and creek in the country. When most of the states are jealous of New York, to secure an appropriation of this kind in the last stages of a session or at any other stage is purely a matter of personal relations with senators. I pleaded for, and secured, the preliminary appropriation from my associates, more than upon its merits, on the statement that it was absolutely essential for my re-election. There again comes in the personal equation, for as a rule brother senators will do much to retain among them one of their number.

In the same way, when every city, village and hamlet in the country was howling for public buildings and lifting the dome of the capitol with the cry that New York had been petted and fed at their expense, I secured the two uptown postoffices which are to cost between three and four millions each.

And in the same way and for the same reasons and by the same pleas, though the secretary of the navy might cry economy and financiers protest, I secured for the Brooklyn navy-yard one of the new, mighty dreadnoughts, giving employment in that yard to over 4,000 men, supporting 4,000 families for the next two years. And of the \$24,000,000 which have been appropriated for the harbors and lake coasts of our state during my term, I venture to say that much of it has come because of my continuance on the committee through which those appropriations must pass.

During my twelve years we have nearly settled the railway question and taken it out of politics by the Roosevelt railway rate bill, the Elkins anti-rebate bill, and the Taft railroad bill of the last session. I believe that when the results of this legislation are worked out from their present crudities, and there always will be crudities in the beginning of new administrations, that there will come greater benefits to the public and more security to railway investors and efficiency of railway management.

Notwithstanding the opposition of our savings banks, which I thought unwise, I did my best for the postal savings banks law, believing it to be best for the country and that it would keep here the \$100,000,000 a year now sent abroad by our foreign population because they do not trust our banks.

I have always supported the merchant marine subsidy, and regret that it did not become a law and that our people are now giving \$200,000,000 a year for freight to foreign shipping, and that American ships are not the carriers of American trade all over the world. American ships with American officers would be active agents for the extension of our markets while foreigners are necessarily hostile. We are the second naval power, and yet the other great naval powers look upon us as of little account because in time of war we have no mercantile marine for auxiliary cruisers, or colliers for our fighting machines and they cannot stay two weeks away from shore.

Owing to abundant experience from annual visits abroad for many years, I became convinced that there is a necessity for housing our diplomats, as other nations do, in the capitals of other countries. I early commenced advocating this, and regard it as a happy result for the dignity and prestige of the United States that a beginning was made in this Congress by an appropriation for this purpose.

As chairman of the committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, there came to me most interesting experiences in the efforts to solve the serious problem presented by governing the Philippine islands, Hawaii and Porto Rico. Many minds have been at work and many men continually laboring to solve these problems. It is a source of congratulation that peace and prosperity in the Philippine islands and in Hawaii and in Porto Rico are demonstrations of the wisdom which has created out of no experience of our own a beneficent colonial policy for our dependencies.

It is a tribute to the seat which I have occupied for the last twelve years that the Democratic party, with 32 majority in the legislature, was unable by its utmost efforts, though working day and night for 74 days, to fill it until the Republican minority gave them help. A seat in the United States Senate is worthy of any man's ambition.

"Why the Senate?" asked a French critic of Thomas Jefferson at the time of the French revolution.

"Because," said the great statesman and author of the Declaration of Independence, "it is like the saucer to the tea cup; when the tea is too hot to drink with safety, it can be cooled off in the saucer."

The Senate has been called the Millionaires' Club, and yet with its ninety-two members a majority have not a competence outside of their salary, and not over 10 per cent have reached the millionaire mark. Seven senators died recently. One started as a poor boy, and in developing the mineral resources of his own state became a millionaire, but the joint assets of the other six did not amount to \$200,000, and three left practically nothing. This is a fair average of the financial condition of the Senate.

There are several kinds of senators. The most valuable are those who seldom appear in the "Record," but work night and day in the committee rooms and on the floor in the perfection of good measures and in defeating bad ones, and those who "Think that day lost whose low descending sun views from thy hand no noble action done," the noble action being some more or less interesting remarks in the next morning's "Congressional Record."

There has been much criticism both at home and abroad upon the unlimited debate permitted in the Senate. During the sixty-first Congress, which has just closed, there were 43,921 bills introduced and only 810 became laws. I believe in the Jeffersonian doctrine of the least possible legislation, and I think that is in accord with the best sentiment of the country. Many and many of them died because unlimited debate left no time for consideration.

During my twelve years' experience I know of no measure of importance which has failed because the Senate has no rules to limit debate, no closure, no previous question. If a measure is worthy, means are found before it is lost to bring a minority to consent to its passage. After twelve years of experience and much study and thought, I believe it would be unfortunate to change the custom of the Senate.

There have been several filibusters in the Senate in my time where a small minority endeavored to defeat, by using up the

time between the commencement of debate and final adjournment, already agreed to by both Houses, some measure desired by a large majority. Physical exhaustion counts continually against a filibuster. But more than that, no man has sensations so numb and feelings so dead and sensibilities so far lost as to withstand for any lengthened period the ill-concealed anger and contempt, and ultimately disgust, of his associates.

A senator engaged in a filibuster is an interesting mental and psychological study. I have rarely heard one who could go along for more than two hours without returning to the beginning and traversing the same ground, and after doing this several times he goes back and over the ground in practically the same language, like a cat pursuing its own tail. That speech never appears in the "Record" until several weeks afterward, and then is edited to the limit, so the world never gathers its inanities, its banalities and its repetitions.

The Senate stands by its traditions. One hundred years ago every man over sixty took snuff. Because of this custom, snuffboxes were placed on the Democratic and Whig, and then the Democratic and Republican, sides. These snuffboxes are still filled every morning. The snuff has been unused for years, but not long since some quack started the idea, during a recent attack of influenza, that snuff would cure it. If the influenza keeps up, the habit may return and with it the old red bandana to conceal the enormities of the practice.

The most confirmed result in my fifty-four years of public and semi-public life is a belief in party organization. It has its evils, as everything human does, but they can always be cured or they cure themselves. I believe that good legislation and progressive legislation come from there being in the country two great political parties, nearly evenly divided, so evenly that the mistakes of one lead to the triumph of the other. I tried insurgency early in life and got over it immediately. It was when I went off with other Republicans in support of Greeley. So our friends who so blithely claim that insurgency is a brand new invention of their own are practicing something which is very, very old.

An insurgent becomes regular when he and his friends secure a majority. The planet Saturn had eight satellites, and astronomers tell us that the rings of Saturn are kept in place

by the regular and methodical movement of these satellites around the planet in one direction. But every once in a while astronomers for hundreds of years have noticed a disturbance of the rings which they were unable to explain. The enormous telescope provided by Mr. Carnegie has penetrated this mystery. It has found that there is a ninth satellite which moves in and out among the others, but in the opposite direction, always producing a disturbance and threatening a dangerous collision. They cannot find that it contributes anything but trouble to the stability of Saturn's place in the heavenly universe.

The astronomers here named this insurgent in the planetary system Phoebe. We will always have Phobes, contrarily minded, moving in the opposite direction and colliding with the majority, but in the general economy of our political system they sometimes produce a healthy shaking up.

Another fundamental among political principles which experience has confirmed is representative government. There is no doubt that an enthusiastic and able propaganda against representative government by appealing to the sentiment called the people's will has made great progress. There is no doubt that it has discredited state legislatures and Congress. It has led in many states to the initiative, the referendum and the recall. It claims, in its extreme phase, that government can only be popular when the actual meeting of the mob takes the place of the deliberations of the legislative body and decisions of the courts.

The man who acts as his own lawyer loses his property; as his own doctor, loses his life; as his own architect, lives in an unsanitary building; as his own engineer, drives over a bridge which falls into the stream. As life grows more intense in its demands upon people in every department of work, they must concentrate their minds on their industry if they would succeed in their chosen pursuit. The people know that with these conditions, and with the greatest intelligence among the masses, to provide measures of government and principles of justice is absolutely impossible.

They can select men, their neighbors, those who are willing to serve and who are able to do this work for them, and then judge of the capability and the intelligence of their representa-

tives, as they do of the work of their engineer and their lawyer and their doctor, by results. It is to the credit of our institutions that while every other country has changed in its fundamentals, we live after one hundred and twenty-five years under the same constitution, practically unchanged and with a liberty and prosperity and promise for the future which are magnificent testimonies to the wisdom of the fathers.

It was my privilege as secretary of the state of New York at the time to be brought in close relations with President Lincoln and his cabinet and the leading members of Congress, and I have known with more or less intimacy every President and nearly every public man of national reputation since. I became a senator under McKinley and have served under Roosevelt and Taft. McKinley had passed his life in the House of Representatives. He had the profoundest reverence for the legislative branch. He never introduced by message or otherwise any of the great measures of his administration without long and frequent consultation with senators and congressmen. I was consulted in regard to all of them in their preparation and presentation, and afterward in advocating them upon the floor, and this was the experience, I think, of most of his own party and of the opposition. This gave McKinley a hold upon Congress which few, if any, of his predecessors had ever possessed.

I can say that as a senator from his own state I had exceptionally pleasant relations with President Roosevelt.

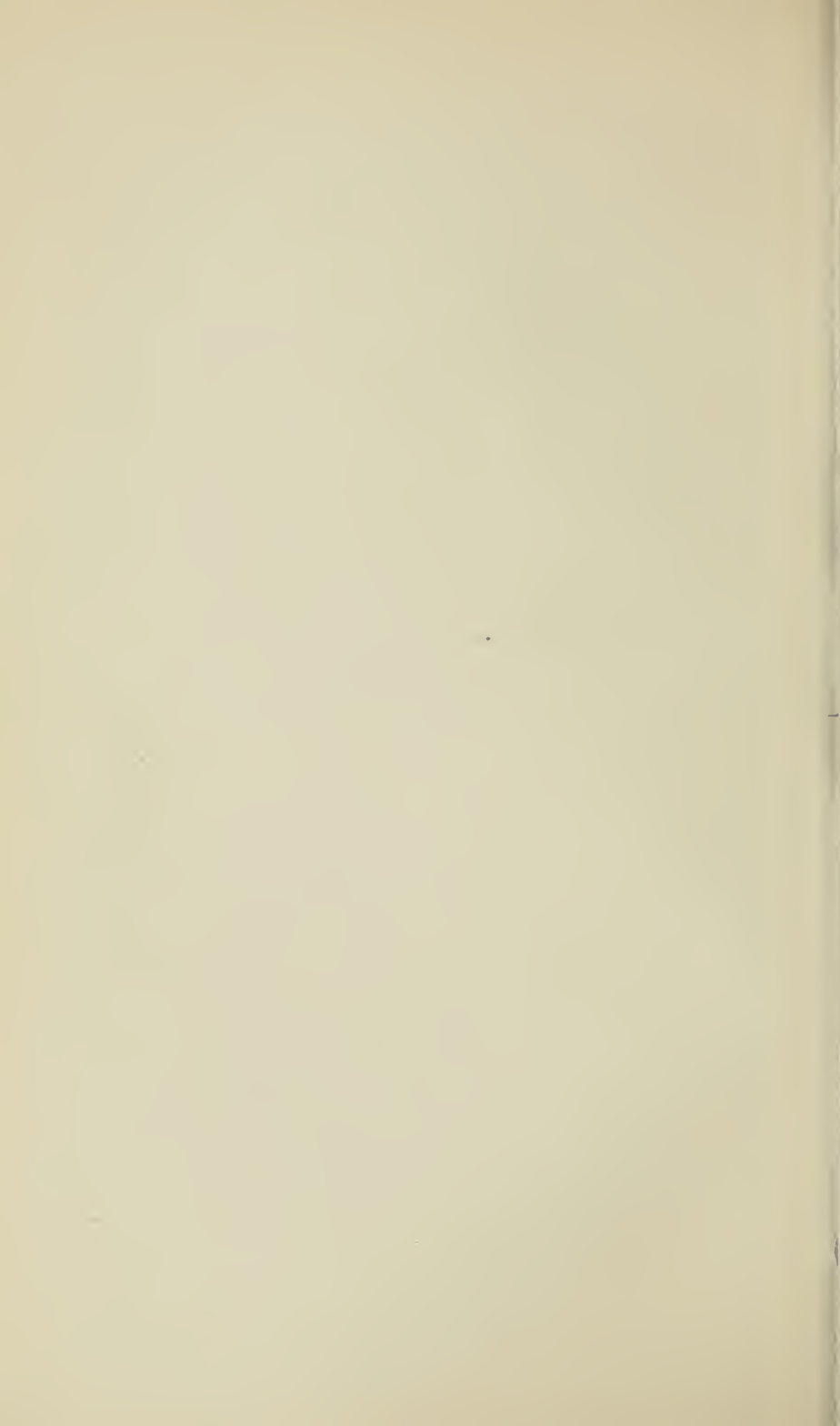
I believe that one of the most misunderstood of our Presidents is President Taft. His life has been judicial and never one of political strife, and so he looks upon questions as a judge, and not from the viewpoint of a politician as all men brought up in political life must. It never occurs to him what may be the effect of a measure upon his own political fortunes. I believe that as President Taft's measures are better understood, his unselfish patriotism and devotion to the public service better known among the people, that he will grow in popular favor, so that when the national Republican convention meets in 1912 there will be but one name before it, that of William Howard Taft.

I highly appreciate the presence here to-night of that distinguished citizen of our State, the Vice-President of the

United States. After twenty-two years of most useful service in the House of Representatives, his elevation to the second place in our government was a merited promotion. I have studied many presiding officers of the Senate. As that body has few rules and resents any check, the duties of the Chair are difficult and delicate to a degree. But, with his large experience, his intimate knowledge of parliamentary law and Senate precedents, his wonderful tact and uniform good nature, Vice-President James S. Sherman makes one of the best, if not the best, presiding officer the Senate ever had.

And now, my friends, we are all New Yorkers. Next to his country, a man's allegiance and pride should be to his state. My ancestor got his farm from the Indians before Governor Dongan, and those who came after have largely remained by the old fireside. The great men who have adorned our history from the time of Hamilton and Jay are the inspirations of succeeding generations of New York youth. Thurlow Weed, who was for thirty years the dominant political factor in the political life of our state, was my preceptor in practical politics, while William H. Seward, whom I knew intimately and loved ardently, was my teacher in political principles.

Our glorious old commonwealth is foremost of all our sister states in all that constitutes a great empire. I have always felt, both in the Senate and out, that in working for the state, which, with its unequalled harbor, its lake ports, its great canal, its mighty metropolis, which is the financial and commercial center of the United States, I was doing the best service possible for my country.



SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Dinner given to the Ex-Presidents of the
Union League Club of New York on Saturday
Evening, April 8, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB: This meeting which you give with such a large representation of our membership to the ex-Presidents of this organization is one of the most interesting events in the history of any club. The seven Presidents who have filled that high office for thirty-eight years are here not only in life but with vigor. The position of chief executive is inspiring, keeps the arteries from hardening and prolongs life.

Our senior, Mr. Choate, happy in his eightieth year, has talked to us to-night with all that brilliancy, versatility, wit, humor and eloquence which has endeared him for more than half a century to his countrymen. I join with you in congratulating him upon having preserved the poster which announced that the Republicans of the Twentieth Ward of New York City would hold a ratification meeting for the election to the Presidency of Fremont and Dayton in October, 1856, and that the speakers would be Joseph H. Choate, Esquire, and others. He had already reached that distinction so eagerly sought by all young orators of rising from among others to the first place on the program for the night.

But our friend Choate is not the sole survivor of the speakers of the Campaign of 1856, for, in September of that year, I was the only speaker at a Republican ratification at Simpson's Hall, in the Village of Peekskill. What is the Twentieth Ward compared with the Village of Peekskill?

The quotation of Mr. Choate from "Alice in Wonderland" most felicitously indicates the source of the success in life of your ex-Presidents whom you welcome here this evening. The philosophy of that quotation is that victory or longevity is largely a question of skill as a jewsmith. I would like to know where in this country there are any citizens who have got larger dividends out of the exercise of that member

of the human anatomy, the jaw, than these ex-Presidents: Joseph H. Choate, Horace Porter, Elihu Root and myself.

For many years I have been deeply interested in the plan to care for the ex-Presidents of the United States. While there are living seven ex-Presidents of the Union League Club, there never has been more than two of the United States. The cares of that office are a bar to longevity, and the living ex-President speedily expires when a new one appears. We as a people do not like to have our ex-Presidents return and enter upon the ordinary vocations of life. Mr. Cleveland felt that so strongly that he left a large and remunerative practice and lived in the quiet of scholastic Princeton. There was a certain vexation among the people when Grant entered business and when Harrison returned to the practice of law. After much thought I had devised a scheme and contributed much literature to it for pensioning ex-Presidents. The idea had become popular and was generally supported in the press. The thought was that the country should have those experiences which can be secured nowhere except in the Presidency by giving to the ex-President a life seat in either House of Congress with a salary sufficient to maintain the dignity of the position. But the scheme was killed by President Roosevelt. In a notable speech just before he retired from office, he called attention to this effort and said in effect that he desired to inform his countrymen that he did not wish them to make any provision for him by way of pension or otherwise, and then remarked with rare emphasis, "This ex-President can take care of himself." He certainly has demonstrated not only to the United States but to the whole world his vigorous and successful independence.

I do not know that the question of what to do with the ex-Presidents of the Union League Club has ever been agitated, but you have happily solved that problem. Dine them frequently, dine them well and make them glad at the dinner by your enthusiastic and cheering approval of their administrations.

I was for seven years President of this club, three years longer than anyone who ever held the place. It gave me a knowledge of human nature, as exhibited without reserve in

this family relationship, which has been of incalculable value and amusing interest. It is an old saying that eighteen hundred members of a club pay annual dues in order that they may occasionally have a place to dine or to sleep, and one hundred of their number enjoy palatial accommodations and comforts at the lowest possible cost. It is among these perennials that we study human nature—the few who grab all the morning and evening papers so that the occasional dropper-in can find none, the few who take all the seats in the library and all the tables for correspondence and retain possession, the few who regard it as an outrage if new members staying in town over night deprive them for an hour or so of their daily accommodations in the dining-room, which they think belong to them by pre-emption alone. One of the complaints of the House Committee in my time was how six members would combine their order and beat the club by having an order for two secure a course dinner.

But, while this is one of the best social clubs in the world, its distinction is political. It had its origin in 1863 in the darkest hour of the Civil War. It was organized to help the government with both money and men. Its members subscribed for government securities when the credit of the nation was at the lowest ebb, and they recruited regiments at the expense of the club. A notable part of the history of New York in the Civil War is the regiment of colored men raised and equipped by the Union League Club. The prejudice in this city against the negro was as great almost as in South Carolina. It was doubtful if that regiment would be permitted to march down Fifth Avenue and Broadway to the trains and steamers which were to carry it to the front. The whole country doubted whether, with the strong pro-slavery sentiment of that period in this city, this regiment would be permitted to leave without being attacked and possibly dispersed. But the members of this club, who had raised that regiment, many of them well advanced in years and known and honored for a generation in this community, solved the question by marching at the head of the colored regiment as it moved down Broadway. Unarmed, as they were, the moral courage of their act awed the crowd and instead of abuse and assault they were met with cheers.

This incident recalls to my mind at this moment the march of the Seventh Regiment to the front. The government called for the National Guard, and the Seventh Regiment of New York, at that time the best drilled and equipped in the country, immediately responded. Everyone who witnessed their departure have carried through life upon the tablets of memory the most extraordinary picture of the Civil War. When the novelty had worn away and people had become accustomed to the war hundreds of regiments from New England and the rural part of New York marched down Broadway without exciting much interest or attention. But when the Seventh marched the people did not know what war meant. We had had none since the Mexican War of 1848, in which few participated and none remembered. The attack on Sumter had aroused horror and indignation through the North. In New York, with a much smaller population then than now, the Seventh Regiment was peculiarly representative of its business and professional life. The whole country seemed to have come to New York to witness its departure. On every sidewalk and up to the roofs of the stores and houses and banked in the side streets were men and women waiting to give to the boys their greeting and farewell. The regiment never looked so well. Its ranks were full; none had stayed behind. The roars of the people which preceded and followed them came from the full hearts of thousands who felt that they were parting perhaps forever with friends who were risking their lives for their benefit. While there was everything to inspire glory in the wild enthusiasm of these multitudes, there was a background of the tenderest pathos. In carriages and upon temporary platforms, where the cross-streets met the Avenue, stood the mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts of the soldiers. There was doubt if the regiment would reach Washington without being destroyed and greater doubt if its members would ever return alive. From carriage window or from platform would be the fluttering of the handkerchiefs as the loved one came abreast. There was no sign from the ranks. It was "eyes front" and perfect marching. But as company after company went by, these women who had fluttered these handkerchiefs of farewell dropped in heaps where they stood as if the Angel of Death had

already done his dreadful work. I have seen most of the great processions of the world, those of the pomp and splendor of inauguration of Presidents and coronation of Kings and Queens, those of mourning over mighty dead, those of celebration over historic events and those of commemoration of the victories of war or the triumphs of peace, but never in my life have I witnessed or felt anything so human, so closely in touch with everybody, so pathetic, and yet so inspiring, as the march of the Seventh Regiment down Broadway for the front in 1861.

Well, gentlemen, we are not here for reminiscence alone. The ambition of this club is always to do what it can for the present and provide as far as possible for the future. I regret that in a way its political activities have abated in deference to its social side. There was a long period when the utterances of this club against fiat money, against debasing the currency by free silver, in favor of the gold standard, and for right industrial principles, were potent in the platforms of political conventions, in the speeches of candidates and in the legislation of Congresses and Legislatures. Presidents and Governors and candidates for legislative offices ardently desired the approval of this club. Its power was in the fact that it did not name candidates but it was understood that an unworthy candidate would not receive its support and might receive its condemnation. The presidency of this club placed the recipient upon the high road to political recognition.

Of our Presidents, Choate, as Ambassador to Great Britain, left a memory which will last through generations, both on the diplomatic and social side. Horace Porter was one of the best Ambassadors we have ever had in France. John Jay performed splendid service for his country as its representative at the courts of Berlin and Vienna. Cornelius N. Bliss, while Secretary of the Interior, astonished the land-grabber and the robber of Indian lands and appropriations by treating them as thieves, and carrying into that office the principles of an honorable business life which had made him one of the most distinguished merchants in New York. Elihu Root, as Secretary of War, originated and carried into effect the reforms which have made our Army an efficient machine, and, as Secretary of State, he placed our consular service upon a busi-

ness basis, with merit as the qualification for places, while, in a larger way, by his wonderful visits to the capitals of the South American Republics, he did more for Pan-American peace and the preservation of the Monroe Doctrine than had been accomplished by any statesman in half a century.

Gentlemen, the work of this club will never be finished. New problems are constantly arising almost as important to our future, as a people and a nation, as those of the preservation of the Union. The perpetuity of the Republic is assured, the stability of its currency is established, but, in the future as in the past, beneficent principles can be aided by the intelligence, courage and patriotism of our club.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at a **Masonic Celebration** at the **Manhattan**
Opera House, New York, on April 13, 1911.

BRETHREN: We all have been interested and instructed by the eloquence of Brother Wolfe, of Washington. I think I ought to reveal a secret, not a Masonic one, but a State secret. One of the best officers in our consular service was Brother Wolfe while Consul General at Cairo. It was at the time of the famous revolt of the Arabs against British rule, which for a time was very threatening. An English official came to the Consul General and said, "I think the rebels will capture Cairo, and I advise you to leave. If they succeed, their first act will be to kill all the English and Christians." "Well," said Consul Wolfe, carelessly flickering the ashes from his cigar, "that does not affect me, for I am neither; I am an American and a Jew."

The subject assigned to me, "The Mystic Tie," covers the whole field of Freemasonry, but it has a larger significance in the relation of peoples to each other, of capital and labor, of employer and employee and in the life of governments. It is a far cry back to the building of Solomon's temple and to the civilizations which had their rise and fall in the thousand years that intervened before the birth of Christ. We, as Masons, believe that the first successful effort to practically bring about the brotherhood of man occurred during the building of that wonderful temple. Solomon had gathered not only material but artisans from all the known world. These races and nationalities were natural enemies. The only international law known was force and might. But Hiram, the Master Builder, was more than an architect or a mechanic. He was a statesman and a philanthropist. He brought together these hostile elements into a society whose only creed was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. For three thousand years that sentiment has slowly worked its way down the centuries. It has been often checked. For long periods it had no life, so far as the relations of nations and alien peoples to each other are concerned, but the flame has been kept ever burning upon the altars of Masonic Lodges.

We are to-day suddenly and in a large way brought face to face with the problem of universal peace. The message of the President of the United States meets with cordial and eager response from the King, government and people of Great Britain. In every church in England meetings are held to promote peace and good-will among men. Carnegie contributes a fund which yields five hundred thousand dollars a year to give practical impulse to the movement. The advocates of great armies and navies, who believe them to be insurance policies for the peace of the countries which keep enlarging them, are met for the first time with an opposition which is something more than theory and sentimentalism. The Hague Tribunal has demonstrated the efficiency and effectiveness of arbitration. It has peacefully settled international questions which under the rule of the ages could have been decided only by the arbitrament of the sword. Now President Taft suggests to the civilized nations of the world, groaning under the burden of maintaining their armies and navies and madly rushing toward national bankruptcy in the effort to equal or outdo each other by increasing the machinery of war, that arbitration may well become universal, and armies in the future instead of increasing can steadily diminish. As fast as this suggestion is accepted, so rapidly is extended among the peoples the beneficent influence of "The Mystic Tie."

In July I will celebrate the fiftieth year of my entrance into the Masonic fraternity. I think vigor, health and longevity have come to me because of its associations. They have given to me a half century of unalloyed pleasure, of warm friendships and of growth in the belief of the beneficent influences of our Order. What a wonderful half century from 1861, when I became a Mason, until now in 1911! In all that makes life worth the living, in all that adds to material prosperity, individual and national, in all that adds to the comforts of life and the alleviation of diseases, this half century has no parallel. It has given to the world a larger liberty in government for the people and by the people than any other half century of recorded time. Within this half century the petty States of Germany have become united in one empire and the German people, in their marvelous industrial development, in the expansion of their trade and their

commerce abroad, in liberties which they never knew before, have come to a large share in the blessings of the progress and evolution of this half cycle; so has united Italy; so has Republican France; so has Great Britain, with a larger and more responsive democracy than almost any nation. We have witnessed the creative processes of liberty penetrating the realm of Russian autocracy, and of Persian and Turkish absolutism, with something more than the semblance of representative government. The cables under the ocean bringing the round earth in intimate communication as the sun rises in its course every day, the leviathans of the deep constantly enlarging the sum of exchanges of products which promote peace, comfort and prosperity, the telephone, the necessary hand-maiden of our daily life, are all the discoveries of our half century. The air about us has been forced to yield the electric current which is in time to conserve our coal deposits and our forests and run our railroads and our industries. It has been forced to surrender upon commercial lines life-giving nitrogen to add to the productiveness of the soil and of its fruits. Education, at the expense of the State, is brought to the door of every child and equal opportunity to the home of every citizen.

One of the most affecting pictures in the story of Masonry occurred at the time of the disbandment of the American Army at the close of the Revolutionary War. Washington and his officers were Masons. They met as a lodge in his tent upon the eve of departure for their various homes, never to gather again. We can easily imagine in the exchange of fraternal greetings their expression to one another of a new extension of "The Mystic Tie." "These thirteen colonies, with their adverse interests and many antagonisms, have been brought into a unified republic. We transmit to our children a united nation founded upon the eternal principles of liberty, to be maintained by them forever. We have fought and won for our people a principle never before recognized in government and embodied in the immortal declaration which has been our inspiration in camp and upon battlefield, "All men are created equal, with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." "The Mystic Tie" framed that immortal document, the Constitution of the United States, and the machinery of the new government commenced its beneficent

work. The Republic of the United States grew in everything which constitutes a great, glorious and free empire for seventy-eight years. Fifty years ago yesterday, Fort Sumter was fired upon. In all the cabinets of Europe it was the universal belief, "This shot breaks 'The Mystic Tie,' and the Republic of the United States goes down in blood as many another has in the history of the world." The slave-holding oligarchy firmly believed, "This shot breaks 'The Mystic Tie' that binds our States to the Federal Government." No one who witnessed it, can ever forget the shock, the horror, the fear and the rage of that day. In the old village of Peekskill I, with others who had attended church, were in the happy crowds going to our homes. Newsboys suddenly flashed along the street with the morning papers from New York shouting, "Sumter has been fired upon." Men, women and children stopped as if paralyzed and with blanched faces read the news. But there was one support for "The Mystic Tie" which the conspirators had not reckoned upon. It was the sentiment for "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever," spoken with lofty inspiration by Webster and embodied in every school book and spoken for a generation in every declamation contest and upon every school platform in the land. "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever," rang from the farms and through the workshops and from the pulpits and penetrated the offices of the lawyers and doctors and the counting rooms of the merchants and the shops of the manufacturers. In response to that cry millions of men left their homes and marched to die if need be for the perpetuity through all eternity of "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever." Slavery died, Lincoln reunited the Union, the seceded States came into the equal share with their victorious brethren of all the inestimable privilege of our government. The reunited country has moved forward by leaps and bounds to a position among the powers of the world, to an expansion of its liberties, to a development of its territories, to a union and prosperity of its peoples, never before accomplished anywhere or among any peoples in recorded time. So, my brethren, both within the lodge for three thousand years and in our country during its history, we live and move and have our being under "The Mystic Tie."

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Dinner Given by the Pilgrims Society of
New York, to MR. JOHN HAYS HAMMOND,
Special Ambassador to the Coronation of King
George V, on May 24, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT: In honoring the Special Ambassador to Great Britain for the coronation of King George, we Pilgrims are performing one of our constitutional functions. The Pilgrims Society of New York and the Pilgrims Society of London have been among the most efficient agencies in bringing about an era of perpetual peace, good-will and friendship between the old country and the new. We meet to welcome a distinguished visitor from the other side, and then, when he goes away, we meet again to speed the parting guest. On the other hand, we give our benediction, our blessing and our good luck to our Ambassador going to his post, and then, when he retires or is retired, we greet him with a cordial welcome and consolation dinner, so that among the honors, which come as a matter of course to an American Ambassador going to England, are at least four good dinners and friendly functions—from the Pilgrims in New York when he goes, and London when he arrives, and London when he leaves, and in New York when he returns.

While Special Ambassadors have been known among royalties for centuries in the interchange of greetings on coronations and funeral ceremonies, I think the first from the United States was created by President McKinley, unless I might refer to an earlier occasion which was never reported. Mr. Emory Storrs, a distinguished but eccentric lawyer of Chicago, wanted to be Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Arthur. He was greatly disappointed because he failed. His clients raised a fund to send him to Europe, and he went to Arthur and said that he would like to go with some distinction; so Arthur, who appreciated Storrs perfectly, had a commission made out on parchment, signed by himself and attested by the Secretary of State, with the great seal

attached, empowering Mr. Storrs as a Special Commissioner to look into the trouble about the importation of cattle into Great Britain from the United States. Our minister at that time was James Russell Lowell. Lowell was furious, saying that he was attending to that matter much better than could this presumptuous Chicago lawyer. Storrs was a passenger on the same ship with me. He showed me his credentials every day, with signature and stamp and the seal, and finally I said to him: "Storrs, what do you expect to accomplish?" "Well, of course," he said, "I have no intention of bothering about cattle. Our legation is amply competent to look after that. What I am after is to compel old Lowell who, I understand, shows few, if any, courtesies to Americans, to give me a dinner and request me to select the guests." Lowell told me afterward that to keep the peace with the brute and prevent trouble at Washington he granted this request, expecting that Storrs would want him to invite the Queen and the whole royal family. He was delighted when the Chicago lawyer selected Tyndall, Huxley, Tennyson and world-wide celebrities in literature, science and art. I believe the cattle question, while not burning very luridly, is still a spark, but, happily, its extinguishment will not be among the duties of our friend, Mr. Hammond.

It so happened that Mr. Storrs was also a fellow-passenger on our return voyage. I said: "Tell me all about that dinner." "Well," said Mr. Storrs, "I stood one day in absorbed attention before that marvelous Madonna by Raphael, in the Dresden Gallery. It seemed to me that a divine inspiration had guided the brush of the artist. Suddenly I was conscious that the gaze of the crowded room, all Americans, was concentrated on me instead of the picture. I turned on the people and said: "Excuse me, ladies and gentlemen, you are in the presence of the world's wonder, which to see is an event in life, and yet you drop this masterpiece for me. I never have attracted attention by my personal appearance in our own country. What is the matter? Is it my clothes? They were made in Chicago." "No," said a fine-looking man who acted as spokesman for the party, "you are of more interest to us than all the old masters, because you made old Lowell give you a dinner."

The Special Ambassador, during the ceremonies, is the whole show. The regular Ambassador is not in it. As a result, the regular Ambassador has never yet, however he may have acted outwardly, accepted with cordiality the presence of this functionary who precedes himself. Well, then, the question arises, and has always arisen, "What is the Special Ambassador to do?" Precisely the same as the special representatives from the other great powers. He is the President of the United States. Everywhere, at all places, he is received as the President of the United States. In other words he is Taft, and I am sure, as we all are, that our genial, companionable and attractive President has happily chosen in making our friend Hammond on this distinguished occasion his personal representative.

As a traveler for many years, I have had impressed upon me the difference between an Ambassador and a Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. By a rule, four hundred years old, the Ambassador can stand covered, if he chooses to do that, in the presence of the King. In any event, he stands as an equal among the royalties, while a Minister Plenipotentiary in England goes in after a Duke and ahead of an Earl. This was our condition until the period of John Hay. The British Government, by all sorts of ruses and subterfuges, did their best to give some distinction to our Minister, but they never could induce the Ambassadors of other countries to let him in among the elect or to allow him to march in with them.

One time, when I was in Paris, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom I had met in America at the time I delivered the oration at the unveiling of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, sent a special messenger asking me to have the American Minister present me to him officially at the Foreign Office. The Minister and I went down and had to wait an hour after we arrived before we were admitted, though the hour had been named. On making an inquiry, we found that an Ambassador had arrived a few minutes after we did, but, in deference to his rank, he had to be admitted first. I inquired, "From what country is this Ambassador?" The answer was, "Hayti." With that experience I became a missionary for the creation of embassies, and I

think the narration of this incident had something to do with the final success of the movement.

While a Senator, I had a conference with the then President. The object of the consultation was to secure the retention of certain gentlemen in the diplomatic service and the appointment of others. The President said: "I am going to change nearly the whole diplomatic corps. While we never can do without this service so long as other countries have it, I regard the position as an honorary one to decorate citizens who deserve distinction. England can give titles, knight-hoods and decorations, France has the Legion of Honor, and other countries have various orders which become hereditary privileges, while we have nothing of the kind. Now critical matters are always conducted by cable directly through the foreign office and the Secretary of State and, therefore, I think that when a man has been ambassador for four years, or certainly six, he ought to yield and allow the decoration to be pinned onto the coat of some other worthy and deserving citizen. The honor lasts for his life. It gives him the precedence at all dinners in his own country, and is part of the record of his family to endless generations, so I propose to remove many of my most intimate friends, believing that I do them no harm, while I confer honor and distinction upon others whom I think eminently worthy." I do not entirely agree with the President in this view, because I have known many instances, in fact, they occur frequently, where the acquaintances formed by the ambassador with the ruling powers of the country to which he is accredited, and where the fact that he is on the spot often removes frictions which might grow into serious matters, and often removes prejudices and misunderstandings before they have reached the dignity of a controversy, which would call into play the activities of the ruler and the foreign office, on the one hand, and the President and the Secretary of State and possibly Congress, on the other.

Our friend will greet the King upon his coronation with a special message from the President at a more auspicious moment than has ever occurred before in the relations of our two countries, when a King was crowned or a President was inaugurated, because he arrives at the happy time when the perpetual settlement of disputes by arbitration, suggested by

President Taft and cordially seconded by King George, is receiving unprecedented welcome and approval from the Parliament and the people of Great Britain, and from the people of the United States, and only awaits the action of Congress to perfect its beneficent results.

It is with more than an expression of personal regard and good wishes that we bid Ambassador Hammond farewell. The occasion rises far above an individual compliment. It is because we, as Americans, recognize in his mission, and in the reception which it will receive in Great Britain, an added impetus to the movement so happily inaugurated by President Taft for an eternity of peace, friendship and the reciprocal benefits of amicable relations between Great Britain and the United States.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Luncheon of the Society of the Cincinnati
and Their Guests from Other State Societies,
Metropolitan Club, New York, May 10, 1911.

COMRADES: One of the most interesting of the commemorations of our Order of the Society of the Cincinnati is the celebration of its organization. On his birthday we have a formal, and more or less imposing, ceremonial for the founder of the Society, George Washington, but this occasion is always informal and the addresses particularly so.

I was reconstructing in my own mind on my way to this luncheon the scenery and conditions of the period when the Society was born, May 10th, 1783. The Continental Army and some of their French allies were encamped at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson. The war was over, and they were waiting for New York to be evacuated by the British troops in order that the victorious host of the Republic might make a formal entry, be disbanded, and return to their homes after seven years of glorious war. There is no more picturesque or beautiful spot in the world than the Highlands of the Hudson, and especially at this time of the year. Peace having arrived, these veterans of the patriot army were enjoying a rest after their long and arduous campaign and the terrible sufferings from want and privation which they had endured. Just below them was West Point suggesting a story still fresh in the minds of all how their struggle might have been a disastrous failure if Benedict Arnold's conspiracy at that place had been successful. The communion of the officers must have been full of reminiscences of gallant comrades who had died, of fields fought over again, of the chivalric French without whose assistance they might never have won. In the midst of such surroundings an inspiration came to the Commander-in-Chief, the one man upon whom devolved the greatest responsibilities of his age and the greatest trials of his time, but who with infallible judgment never made a mistake, and always, with his happy combination of genius, tact and sense, did the right thing at the right time. Of course, then as now, organizations were

created about the festive board. They knew no luncheons then. Dinner was always at or soon after noontime, and the evening meal was an informal affair called supper. That was the universal habit of the people of the United States during the first century of our existence. That dinner in Washington's tent was a suggestion, after all the hardships of these veteran soldiers, of the future prosperity of the country which they had created. The Hudson River was teeming with fish, and especially rich in that best of them all, the shad. How different is our experience now with this most delicious of the members of the finny tribe. As she returns from the sea to her spawning beds she is met in the lower bay with the sludge from the factories of the Standard Oil Company. Avoiding that as best she can, her next draught of what should be pure water is the sewage of the State of New Jersey, through the Passaic River, emptying into our harbor. As she seeks to escape in order to return to the place of her birth, she is assailed on every side with the outpourings of the refuse of this great city, of its sister on the other side and of the innumerable factories along the banks. Contrast this fish with the ones that were served on that memorable day in Washington's tent. It was my good fortune, as a Hudson River boy, to eat such shad in my early days. When the river was pure, when the water had the natural food of the fish, and when it was brought alive from the nets to the table, then the shad was a feast for the Gods.

But the Ramapo Hills and the hills about Newburgh were at that time full of game, and our forefathers were keen and successful sportsmen. There were no game laws, for none were needed, and game was not, as it is, unhappily, in our day, in danger of extermination by the pot hunter, the ignorant legislator passing foolish laws and officers enforcing them in a way to bring them into contempt and ridicule.

The cellars of the old colonial families were still full of the choicest vintages of the old world, and they were drawn upon freely and sent by General Schuyler and his associates to the Commander-in-Chief.

In these surroundings the Chief said to his compatriots, "Let us form a society which will stand forever for the prin-

ciples and the preservation of our new Republic." Then was drafted, with that marvelous compactness and lucidity which characterized all formal papers of Alexander Hamilton, the constitution which has just been read to us, and to that constitution, commencing with the signature of George Washington, there followed the officers of the Continental Army and the officers of their French allies. According to the habit of that period the membership was made hereditary.

I once heard one of the ablest of British statesmen and most eloquent of speakers, Lord Rosebery, say in his charming way that if the American colonies had not rebelled, and remained loyal to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, their growth and prosperity would probably have been the same if not greater. The overwhelming influence of these most populous, wealthy and powerful of the semi-independent colonies of the empire would have drawn Buckingham Palace to New York, Windsor Castle to the Hudson and the Parliament Houses to Central Park. Of course, all this was in a spirit of friendly humor and banter; nevertheless, it suggests a pregnant thought. The movement of populations to new territories in order that they may better their conditions, either in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty or materially, is governed more by sentiment than by interest. Australia has an area a little greater than the United States. It has a soil and climate eminently fitted to sustain a large population. For sixty years it has had the same opportunities in government, in all essential liberties and in attractiveness as our own country, and yet, while our population has grown to one hundred million, Australasia has only about eight million, less than the single State of New York. Canada on our northern border has an area in square miles about the same as our own. Two-thirds of it at least is capable of profitable development in agriculture, forestry and mining. Its existence as a colony, with every independent power of self-government, except a sentimental attachment as a member of the British Empire and the English Crown, is coincident in years with that of the Republic of the United States, and yet the population of Canada, with all the power of Great Britain to assist, is less again than that of the single State of New York.

It is most interesting that the great migrations of the last century, of which such a large number came from the British Isles, have steadily flowed into the United States and could not be diverted to either Australasia or to Canada. If the governments of these colonies had been narrow or restricted or illiberal, the question could be easily answered, but every liberty, freedom of conscience, civil rights, liberty of locomotion, free press, universal suffrage, are common to all these governments. In the United States, however, the citizen is not a subject. He is a sovereign. Within his sphere he is a king, and, united to make a majority, he becomes the sovereign power in the land. It is this sentiment of becoming an independent citizen of a country with an independent government which has created out of our wilderness great commonwealths, which has spread populations over our plains and mountains and valleys while these enormous colonies of the mother country remain so largely still in primeval conditions.

It was about the time of the organization of the Society of the Cincinnati when the army, in arrears of pay for three years, angered at the Continental Congress by its neglect, presented a petition to Washington stating in effect that a new representative government never would be strong enough to live, and their safety and that of their children was in a powerful executive like a king; if he only would take this place, they had the power to put and keep him there and the country would be safe. Washington rejected their proposal with more temper than he had ever displayed, and, at the same time, read them a lesson, which they never forgot, upon the value of the liberty for which they had fought. It may have been that this contemplated revolt suggested to Washington the formation of this society as one of the bonds of union. The keynote, the central thought of its Constitution as approved by him, was loyalty to the Union of the States and the preservation of the National Government.

A few months afterwards Washington bid farewell to his officers at Fraunce's Tavern in New York and departed for his home at Mount Vernon. The officers, returning to the thirteen States to which they belonged, carried with them the charters of the State societies as they exist to-day. As we read of

the dangers of the young Republic, of the Articles of Confederation which proved a rope of sand, of the difficulties in the Constitutional Convention to form a national instrument which would be acceptable to all, of the opposition to its ratification which was successful for more than a year, and of the perils of the new government until Washington had placed it upon a firm foundation during his two terms as President, we can appreciate the value of this Society in cementing the Union of the States. Wireless telegraphy has come to us within the last decade, but wireless telepathy is as old as human intelligence. The officers of the Continental Army were the leading spirits in their several communities. Every one of them was actuated with the spirit of Washington. Mails were irregular and communication difficult in that early period, but each knew, as opposition to the Union, or to the adoption of the Constitution, or to the administration of Washington, showed itself in his neighborhood what Washington expected him to do, and, though his sword was sheathed, as a citizen he performed that duty as loyally as he would have done under the eye of his great commander upon the field of battle.

Washington seems to us to have been the most industrious man who ever lived. His estates, his business, his hospitality were enough work for anyone, but he kept up a correspondence, all written by his own hand, with his officers, with distinguished civilians and with eminent men in foreign lands. The Constitutional Convention could never have agreed except for his commanding influence and the support which he received from the constituencies of its members among the officers of the Army of the Revolution all over the country. It could never have been ratified by the States except that in every State Convention were these veterans carrying out the wishes, voicing the sentiments and loyally following the lead of their great chief. It is a delightful and at the same time a most responsible heritage that has come to us, the descendants of the officers who formed the Society of the Cincinnati. Each period has its crises and its perils the same as during the administration of Washington. They differ in degree and intensity, and yet each of them require for their proper solu-

tion the best intelligence, the highest patriotism and the most devoted loyalty of the citizen. To the members of the Society of the Cincinnati this duty is one specially imposed and gladly accepted. As we celebrate the organization of the Society, the birthday of Washington, its founder, and on the Fourth of July the Declaration of Independence, we study again the story of the founder, we read anew the life of the Republic and we renew afresh the obligations transmitted to us by our ancestors, and which we assumed when we signed our constitution.

From Leslie's Weekly, May 18, 1911.

Senator Depew Tells the Wonderful Secret of Success.

How a Rich Father Made His Son Work Up from the Bottom of the Ladder Unassisted

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The year 1911 marks the fiftieth anniversary of Senator Depew's initial appearance in the public forum. During this time the Senator has been in intimate contact with public affairs. His picturesque figure is better known than that of almost any other in public life. Recently the Montauk Club of Brooklyn celebrated its twenty-first anniversary and the seventy-seventh anniversary of Senator Depew's birth. Over two hundred and sixty members gathered to honor the retired Senator, thus completing the twentieth birthday party which the club has tendered Mr. Depew. It was at this gathering, over which William H. English presided, that Senator Depew remarked: "This half century is a wonderful inspiration for optimism. It has no equal in all that tends to liberty, progress, intelligence and the influences which make life worth the living."

No man appeared in either house during the last session of the Sixty-first Congress who seemed to be more perfectly satisfied with his surroundings than Senator Chauncey M. Depew of New York. It was known, as soon as the results of the election of November 8th, 1910, were announced, that Senator Depew would not be re-elected to the Senate, because the Legislature of his State had gone Democratic. He was one of many prominent men who went to Washington to spend the last months they would ever have in public life. Many were dejected, cast down and gloomy. But Senator Depew was just as cheerful as before. His countenance was as beaming, his smile as pleasant, his greeting as hearty and his laugh as mirthful as in the days when he was still on the top wave of political and personal prosperity and success.

It was after observing him in his best mood that I made comment upon the way he accepted political reverses. The conversation became general, and in reply to a question, designed to bring out the views of Senator Depew, he discussed several matters and mentioned many things which even those who know him best either never knew or have forgotten. I then asked the Senator to put in a condensed form the main

features under discussion, and the result is the following interesting story:

Your inquiry, "How, in retiring from active public service when within a few months of seventy-seven years of age, do you look upon the past?" is difficult to answer. Every public man has critics and admirers, the one thinking his career a failure, the other a success far beyond its merits. The question seems to me to be, "Has one's life been useful and happy?" If useful without being happy, there have been mightily few dividends worth having. If happy without being useful, then a man's days have been frivolous and not worth considering.

I remember as if it were yesterday when my father, who was well-to-do and carrying on a prosperous business, said, "Now you have your profession as a lawyer, you have a small but good working library and your shingle is nailed on the door, you will never get another dollar from me except through my last will and testament." I could have got along easier after being thus thrown out of the second-story window if I had not been coddled before, but to be deprived of all income was a trying situation. Several times, when in great stress and debts, I went to my father and stated the conditions, and, while the tears would roll down his cheeks, he maintained a Spartan consistency in action. I thought very hard of him during those years, but have blessed him ever since, because this drastic method was essential to independence, though it might have been tempered with a little mercy.

Well, I commenced practicing law in a village of twenty-five hundred inhabitants, with an over-crowded bar of able and experienced lawyers and very little means in the community to support such a disproportionate number of legal talents. I knew no one outside of the village and had no means of entering upon the larger avenues which came to classmates who had formed valuable connections in large cities. Fifty-three years have passed since then. Whatever I am and have are due to my own exertions. I do not recall that I have been helped by anybody.

In the law, I early made up my mind that financial success and reputation were to be found more in corporation service than in general practice, and from the attorneyship of one of the smallest roads in the country—one hundred and twenty-

eight miles—I became general counsel of one of the largest railway systems in the United States and in the world. In business there came to me the presidency of this system, with all which that meant of powerful associations. Twice in my life, by indorsing notes—which has been my characteristic weakness—for friends, in order to help them without any expectation of any reward, I have lost all I had and been plunged into debt. Happily, however, a persistent, insistent and consistent cultivation of optimism inspired renewed efforts to overcome the disaster.

My mother was a devout Calvinist and I owe much to her continued teaching after every misfortune that all the ills of life are really blessings in the disciplinarian plan of the Lord for the ultimate best interests of the sufferer and in preparation for greater opportunities and larger fortune. I have found the doctrine always correct. One instance: Forty years ago I had by purchase a one-sixth interest in one of the most successful business enterprises in the world dependent upon the validity of a patent. At the urgent solicitation of friends who thought the investment worthless, I gave it up. The interest with the accumulations are worth to-day over one hundred millions of dollars. One man who had a similar experience, when his interest had become equal to about two millions, committed suicide because he had lost such a phenomenal fortune. On the contrary, I am most thankful for my loss, because I know that this luck would have led to absence of effort and loss of health from an indulgence in luxuries which unlimited money can buy that would have planted me in the old graveyard at Peekskill years ago. A dead multi-millionaire is of no use to himself or anybody else, while it is a glorious thing to have the continuing possession of health and happiness.

Yale in my day was a hotbed of politics. The slavery question between 1852, when I entered, and 1856, when I graduated, was breaking up old parties both in and out of the universities. Breaking away from my family and old friends and associates, I started on a stumping tour, immediately after my graduation in 1856, for Fremont and free soil. That appearance on the platform has been uninterrupted and persistent in all parts of the country for fifty-four years. This activity on the platform carried me for two terms to the Legislature

of the State of New York, fifty years ago. Then, as a candidate for secretary of state, the Democratic majority which had elected Governor Seymour the year before was reversed.

The Legislature being Republican and Seymour a Democrat, the Legislature assigned to the secretary of state the collection of the soldiers' votes. There were about four hundred thousand voters from New York in the field, and the difficulty of securing from Stanton, then Secretary of War, their location, so that the necessary papers could be sent and the votes secured, kept me in Washington for more than three months. But the character of the mission brought me in intimate contact with President Lincoln and in close association with all the members of his Cabinet. This experience for a young man, or for any man, was invaluable and is one of the choicest recollections of a lifetime. It could be expanded into a volume.

One lesson is impressed on me, and that is, in the long run before the people, no man permanently triumphs in an effort to fool them. I have met Cabinet ministers, Senators and members of Congress who were afraid to have their constituents know that they were acquainted with a railroad president, while privately they were seeking every favor it was possible for them to secure. During all my career I have taken the ground that one-fifth of the voters of the United States were interested, from a wage-earning standpoint, in the railways of the country and that they were entitled to as much consideration, were as good citizens and would make as good officers as the people engaged in any other pursuit. Certainly, as I have found them, they are not nearly so selfish and not nearly so wedded to personal interests as the majority of both Houses, who, though engaged in many pursuits, yet have their living in the tariff.

Facts are the most complete answer to loose charges and assertions. Notwithstanding all the rot published about the interests, and association with and working for the interests, which has been the common stock of many newspapers and magazines, I am proud of the record that I supported, by vote and voice, every administration measure of Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. Certainly no representative of the people and member of the Republican party could do more. So, while general counsel of the New York Central Railroad,

I was offered the United States senatorship, hands down, in 1884, and declined. I was offered every position in Harrison's Cabinet, in 1888, except Secretary of State, and subsequently Secretary of State, and declined. While president of the New York Central Railroad, I received the entire vote of the State of New York through several ballots in the national convention for President and enough more to run the vote up to ninety-nine, and when I withdrew it would have been nearly three hundred on the next ballot, with a fair prospect of success. But I withdrew on the earnest petition of Western Republicans, because of the intense anti-railroad feeling in their several States. While still holding this position in the railway service, I was elected United States Senator.

Now, let us see. Two terms in the Legislature, secretary of state of New York, appointed but resigned the mission to Japan, offered and declined the ambassadorship to Germany, offered and declined three appointments in the Cabinet, offered and declined once United States senatorship and elected twice, and then retiring not because of defeat in the Legislature, but because a Democratic landslide had carried both the State and Legislature, make the results of life on the political side very satisfactory. Thirty years' service as Regent of the University of the State of New York, elected by the Legislature, and twelve years a member of the Governing Body of Yale University, elected by the Alumni, gave wide, varied and most interesting experiences among educators and hundreds of thousands who owed their careers to the schools. As general counsel of a railway system I retained lawyers in many states and was brought into intimate relations with two generations of leaders of the Bar, and as a railway president with all the captains of industry. This close touch with these masterful men has been most instructive in revealing the mainsprings in our railway, industrial, commercial and financial development, which has been so marvelous, especially in the last third of the century. A large, interesting and entertaining field seems to open to a veteran of these experiences when, after he has rounded out his seventy-seventh year, he enters upon the performance of such duties as a citizen as may fall to his lot, especially when he is in possession of abounding

health. Freed from cares and large responsibilities, loving life on all its varied sides, there ought to be, Providence permitting, happier years than ever before in the work and play of wise old age.

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